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ENGLISKI I HRVATSKI JEZIK U DODIRU:
STUDIJA SLUČAJA DVOJEZIČNE IMIGRANTICE

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ENGLISH AND CROATIAN IN CONTACT:
A CASE STUDY OF A BILINGUAL IMMIGRANT

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ABSTRACT

This paper is a study of a bilingual Croatian immigrant in Australia. It examines the immigrant experience of an 81-year-old Croatian-born woman who left Croatia (Yugoslavia) in 1969 and settled in Australia. More specifically, I analyse the linguistic and extralinguistic experience of an immigrant coming to a society whose language she did not speak, and the way it influenced the experience. The paper focuses primarily on the bilingual linguistic patterns that are found in her spoken production and the ideologies behind her language use. The results show that the respondent has not acquired full competence in English, but she has never had any negative experience with native speakers of English in Australia. Even though she speaks English on a daily basis in Australia, she avoids code-switching, and uses just one language at a time. The code-switching instances that came up during the interview that was conducted in Croatian were mostly expressions that do not have a precise equivalent in Croatian, and borrowings were very scarce. The ideologies reflect her language attitudes which are influenced by her immigrant experience and interactions with local people while on vacation in Croatia. The ideologies she promotes include the pluralist ideology, the ideology of assimilation, the heteroglossic ideology and the ideology of territorialisation.

Keywords: language contact, bilingualism, language ideologies, code-switching, language broker, language breaker

SAŽETAK

Ovaj rad bavi se bilingvalnom Hrvaticom koja je imigrirala u Australiju. Proučava imigrantsko iskustvo 81-godišnje Hrvatice koja je iz Hrvatske (Jugoslavije) emigrirala 1969. godine i nastanila se u Australiji. Konkretno, analiziram njezino jezično i izvanjezično iskustvo imigrantice koja je došla u društvo čiji jezik ne govori i način na koji je to utjecalo na njezino imigrantsko iskustvo. Rad se primarno temelji na bilingvalnim jezičnim obrascima koji se mogu primijetiti u njezinom govoru i ideologijama povezane s njezinom jezičnom proizvodnjom. Rezultati pokazuju da ispitanica nije potpuno ovladala engleskim jezikom, ali nikad zbog toga nije imala negativnih iskustava sa stanovnicima Australije kojima je engleski materinski jezik. Iako u Australiji svakodnevno govori engleski, izbjegava prebacivanje kodova i u raznim situacijama govori samo po jedan jezik. Do prebacivanja kodova tijekom intervjua koji je proveden na hrvatskom došlo je jer određeni izrazi nemaju svoj ekvivalent na hrvatskom jeziku, a posuđenice je koristila vrlo rijetko. Ideologije koje zagovara odražavaju njezine stavove vezane za jezik i nastale su pod utjecajem njezinog imigrantskog iskustva i komunikacije s lokalnim stanovništvom tijekom godišnjeg odmora u Hrvatskoj. Među ideologijama koje zagovara su ideologija pluralizma, ideologija asimilacije, ideologija heteroglosije i ideologija teritorijalizacije.

Ključne riječi: jezični kontakt, dvojezičnost, bilingvizam, jezične ideologije, prebacivanje kodova, jezični pomagač, jezični odmagać

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1. Introduction

This thesis studies the linguistic experience of a bilingual immigrant, with an emphasis on her language attitudes and the linguistic results. The beginning of the paper gives the historical and demographic background of Croatian immigrants in Australia since the 19th, but especially in the 20th century. A brief overview of the current state of the Croatian diaspora in Australia follows.

The methodology section gives a summary of guidelines for conducting a sociolinguistic interview, with the author's methodology provided. The theoretical framework provides a review of literature with the key concepts and ideas used in the analysis and the results in the last section of the paper. The respondent's immigrant experience was studied in order to investigate how bilingual phenomena play out in the field and to set her attitudes and features of language production in context. The main part of the paper is the results, which focus on her proficiency in English and the sociolinguistic background of her language acquisition. The second part of the results deals with the ideologies that can be inferred from her statements and the influence English has had on her production in Croatian – code-switching, borrowings and compromise forms.

2. History and Population

The first Croatians settled in Australia in the middle of the 19th century (Čizmić 2005, 193). They migrated due to economic reasons, and their migrations between towns and settlement in Australia were also motivated by economic prosperity (Holjevac 1968, 208). The system of chain immigration was a very important concept for the early settlers. It was based on news about the prospect of finding jobs and settlement sent by immigrants from Australia to their relatives in the homeland, which encouraged their relatives and neighbours to also come to Australia and try their luck. (Holjevac 1968, 211) Croatian immigrants usually first worked on goldfields “with varying degrees of success”, and later they became “seamen, labourers, vigneron and caterers” (Immigrant communities of Victoria, n. d.).

After World War II, the Australian government decided to populate the vast areas with Caucasians from Europe. Almost 25 per cent of current population of Australia was not born on its territory, and the number keeps increasing. Immigrants settled mostly on the outskirts of large cities, like Melbourne and Sydney. (Čizmić 2005, 194-196) The number of Croatian immigrants in Australia also rose after World War II, although their numbers were minor compared to other European nations (Holjevac 1968, 211-217). According to the Australian Department of Immigration and Citizenship, “immediately after World War II, the Yugoslavia-born population in Australian quadrupled from 5,870 in 1947 to 22,860 in 1954. Many migrated under the post-war Displaced Persons Scheme and a significant number of those were ethnic Croatians” (Australian Government, Department of Immigration and Citizenship. n.d.). Upon arriving to Australia, most of Croatian immigrants worked as unskilled workers in factories and in the fields, but with time their economic situation gradually improved (Čizmić 2005, 194-196). Due to their common culture and needs, they established connections with other ethnic groups from Yugoslavia (Holjevac 1968, 217).

According to Val Colic-Peisker, “between 1961 and 1976 almost 100,000 Yugoslavia-born people migrated to Australia, many of whom were Croatians” (2010, 55). The largest wave of Croatian immigrants arrived in the 1960s (Colic-Peisker 2010, 55) “due to high unemployment” and “deteriorating economic conditions” in Yugoslavia (Immigrant communities of Victoria, n.d.). For these low-skilled immigrants from rural parts of Croatia, Australia was not a promised land and they planned to stay there only temporarily. Many of them hoped they would go to Australia, earn a substantial amount of money in several years and

“then triumphantly return to their native villages with their material standard of living and future prospects considerably enhanced. Instead, they worked hard for a number of years before they could buy a car and a house, let alone pay off the house fully. Under the circumstances, a long-term stay in Australia proved the only realistic option, with even a short visit to Croatia being a major expenditure which many could not afford for decades (Colic-Peisker 2006; 2008)” (cited in Colic-Peisker 2010, 56).

But due to poor economic conditions in Croatia, it was safer for Croatian immigrants to stay in Australia. Many of them decided to return to Croatia in their old age, or they lived bi-locally, a part of the year in Croatia and a part in Australia (Colic-Peisker 2010, 58).

The first organisation of Croatian immigrants in Australia was established in 1912 in Boulder City, and it was called *Croatian-Slavic Society*. It was primarily concerned with culture and entertainment and politically it was based on idealized Yugoslavism (Holjevac 1968, 218). The number of Croatian emigrants rose significantly after the World War II. Some people emigrated because they were afraid they would be prosecuted (for example, the leaders of the Ustasha organization and other high-ranking officials of the Independent State of Croatia), some because they were being persecuted (leaders of democratic parties in Croatia) and some because they did not want to live in a communist society (Goldstein 2008, 470).

After the Second World War, many Croatian clubs were established in Australia with the purpose of preserving Croatian identity among the immigrants, which then helped establishing other social organizations like football clubs, folklore groups, a theatre group and others. A religious society called *Croatian Catholic Community* was established in 1961 in Brisbane and the Croatian national Church was also established in Australia, which for some functioned as the only connection to the homeland. It was founded after World War II by priests from Croatia. The first Mass in Croatian language was held in 1964 and the first Croatian Catholic Centre was built outside of Sydney in 1984 (Čizmić 2005, 200-202). Croatian Australians still socialize and organize various events in order to maintain their cultural identity.

In 1961 a group of Croatian immigrants in Australia founded *Croatian Revolutionary Brotherhood (Hrvatsko revolucionarno bratstvo)*, which promised to use weapons if necessary to reach their goal of freeing the Croatian people. They operated for more than 30 years and carried out many terrorist attacks in Yugoslavia. Croatian emigration was notorious for their terrorist tactics in getting attention for their cause and trying to achieve their goal of independent Croatia. (Čizmić 2005, 377-378)

In the 1980s and the first half of the 1990s the immigration continued “due to the Yugoslav economic and political crisis” (Colic-Peisker 2010, 55). Since 1991 “almost 30,000 settlers from the republics of the former Yugoslavia have migrated to Australia”, but the number of Croatian immigrants and immigrants from ex-Yugoslav countries is decreasing. In 2003, for the first time in the history of Australian Croatians, the number of return migrants exceeded the number of permanent immigrants from Croatia to Australia. (Colic-Peisker 2010, 56) This could be explained by the age of the immigrants. As we can see in the Figure 1, since most of the Croatian immigrants arrived in Australia in the late 1960s and the early 1970s, by now they could be retired and could have returned to their homeland.

Figure 1. Immigration from ex-Yugoslavia to Australia 1945-2002

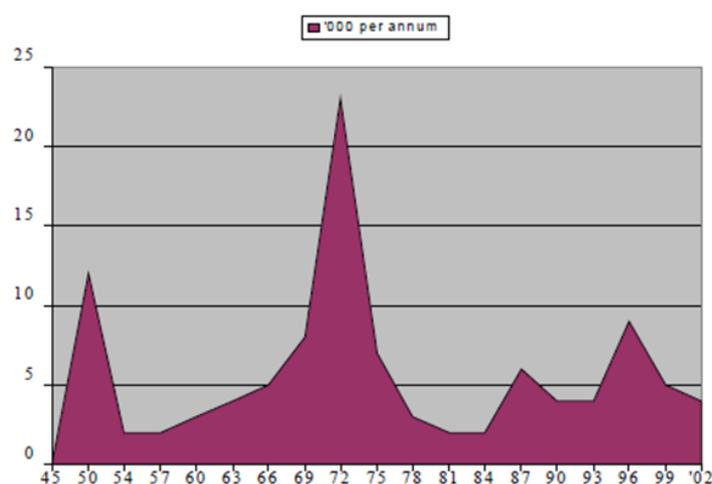


Figure 1. Croatian community in Australia in the early 21st century, taken from Colic-Peisker 2010

According to an Australian sociologist of Croatian descent who studied Croatian immigrants in Australia, Val Colic-Peisker, “most ethnic groups in Australia and elsewhere have at some stage been victims of negative stereotyping” (Colic-Peisker 2008, 160). In her book, she writes about hearing numerous claims from her Croatian Australians interviewees about negative stereotyping. However, the public opinion about Croatian Australians and Croatia in general finally changed after the 1988 “shooting of Croatian protesters by staff members of Yugoslav Consulate in Sydney”. (Colic-Peisker 2006, 159) Nevertheless, some immigrants decide to return to their homeland after a few years (Colic-Peisker 2010, 56).

2.1. The Present State

According to the Australian Department of Immigration and Citizenship, the 2011 Census recorded 48,828 Croatia-born people in Australia, whose median age was 61. “The age distribution among them recorded that 0.4 per cent were aged 0-14 years, 3.9 per cent were 15-24 years, 14.5 per cent were 25-44 years, 40.9 per cent were 45-64 years and 40.3 per cent were 65 years and over,” which corresponds to the large number of immigrants during the 1960s and 1970s. “The main languages spoken at home by Croatia-born people in Australia were Croatian (30 927), English (8570) and Serbian (6243). Of the 40 257 Croatia-born who spoke a language other than English at home, 78.2 per cent spoke English very well or well, and 20.5 per cent spoke English not well or not at all”.(Australian Government, Department of Immigration and Citizenship. n.d.)

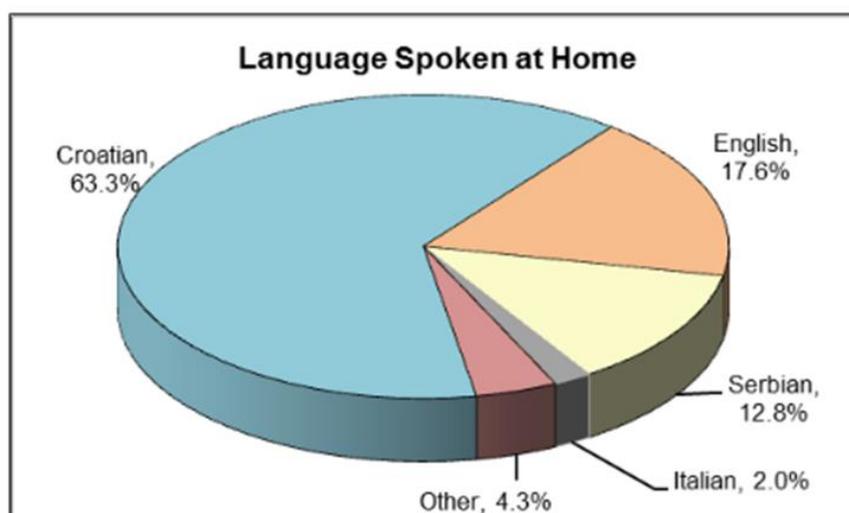


Figure 2. languages spoken at home among the Croatian immigrants in Australia, taken from Australian Department of Immigration and Citizenship’s information about the 2011 Census

3. Methodology

There are three main types of collecting data for sociolinguistic research: surveys, interviews and pooling techniques. In this study I focus on the sociolinguistic interview. The interview is carried out according to specific guidelines, for example it should be one to two hours long, the researcher should let the interviewee lead the conversation and elicit attitudes, as well as data on language use. (Labov 1984, 32-33) Some authors claim that “by initiating a topic such as childhood games or traumatic life-threatening events the interviewer may achieve changes in the speech of the interviewee resulting in a less formal style, approximating or arriving at

the desired more natural, vernacular speaking mode“ (Starks and McRobbie-Utasi 2001, 3). The interview should start with “an informal free conversation”, which “aims at eliciting ‘natural speech’“ (ibid, 4). However, the sociolinguistic interview also has some limitations, since some vernacular forms do not appear during interviews, but only in peer conversation.(Ibid, 5).

For Labov, “the vernacular, in which the minimum attention is paid to speech, provides the most systematic data for linguistic analysis”(1984, 29). He described the vernacular as the basic style of someone’s speech, which is learned in pre-adolescent age and on which the speaker builds more complex styles. It is “more regular” variant “than those appearing in more formal ‘super-posed’ styles that are acquired later in life” (Labov 1984, 29).

As stated by Labov, “any systematic observation of a speaker defines a formal context where more than the minimum attention is paid to speech” (ibid, 29), which means that the speaker pays attention to what they are saying, no matter how relaxed they may seem. In other words, there is a greater chance that the speaker’s vernacular style is going to be presented if they are not paying attention to their own speech, which can occur only if they do not notice outside observers. Therefore, it is the aim of the researcher to achieve this level of relaxedness of the respondent. Nevertheless, there is a paradox that linguistic change and variation is faced with called ‘Observer’s paradox’. The aim of LCV is to observe how people talk when they are not observed, but it cannot be conducted without observing. Therefore, the observer does influence the speaker, but the solution is minimizing this effect of the experimenter or interviewer on the respondent. (Labov 1984, 30)

Before we start the interview, we need to come up with modules or groups of questions about a particular topic. The questions need to be prepared in advance, be as short as possible and adapted to the interviewer’s colloquial style in order to elicit the respondent’s vernacular speech. They are usually shaped according to the foci of interest in a particular group or, as in this case, of a particular respondent. During this research, some modules were borrowed from Labov’s file, but they were also modified according to the respondent’s interests and background. (Labov 1984, 33) In order to achieve relaxedness and spark interest in my respondent, the chosen questions were based on what I know about her background, but also the ones I hoped would provide results regarding her views on language and society.

It is very important not to establish a power relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee in which the interviewer has the authority. Rather, the interviewer should put

themselves in the position of a learner and should be genuinely interested in the interviewee's answers. (Labov 1984, 40) In this case, it was easy for me to put myself in the position of a learner, since the age difference between the respondent and me is quite extensive and I was genuinely interested in what she was telling me.

Labov (1984, 51-52) offers several guidelines for recording the interview: the respondents must know they are recorded at all times. No one but the researchers should listen to the tape. To conduct lexical analysis or to analyse how the conversation is structured, the quality of the recording does not have to be very high. Still, we should aim for the highest quality recordings as possible in order, possibly someday, to make the recordings available for other researchers. (Labov 1984, 51-52)

According to Wray and Bloomer, a direct/explicit approach is the one in which the interviewer is straightforward and honest, and indirect/inexplicit is the one in which the interviewer asks questions as distracters and actually wants to get some other information. For example, if you wish to obtain information about pronunciation you should ask a person about their childhood, not pronunciation itself. An open question allows the respondent to talk or write at length, and a closed question asks for a specific answer (Wray and Bloomer 2012, 97).

I conducted a semi-structured individual sociolinguistic interview, such as the ones which were used by Labov. It is halfway between a completely structured interview, "a questionnaire administered by an interviewer who is not allowed to deviate in any way from the questions provided" and an unstructured interview, which "takes form of a conversation where the interviewer has no predetermined questions." (Haralambos and Holborn 2004, 904) In the semi-structured interviews, the interviewers prepare questions in advance and use them during the interview. (Bijeikienė & Tamošiūnait 2013, 93)

My own research was conducted in several stages. The first stage was preparing the modules according to the previously acquired information about the respondent. The interview was conducted on two occasions. After the first part of the interview was finished, I analysed the respondent's production concentrating on the forms she used and her attitudes toward languages and dialects. Then I pinpointed the topics she mentioned that I wanted to explore further. We met again and I asked some more questions regarding the topics we had previously talked about to obtain the answers to the questions I was interested in. I used my smart phone to record the interviews. I checked the device regularly, although it worked fine and the quality of the recording was very high.

4. Theoretical Framework

An essential characteristic of language is variation. There are linguistic variables, which are linguistic features that vary from speaker to speaker in precise form, and extralinguistic variables, which are causes of linguistic variables, and their connection is called co-variation (Wray & Bloomer 2012, 93-95). Therefore, the extralinguistic situation affects the speaker's language production. Languages consist of many different varieties which speakers use based on their *communicative competence*, which is "the most general term for the capabilities of a person" and it "is dependent upon both (tacit) *knowledge* and (ability for) *use*". (Hymes 1972, 282) It is "concerned with the tacit knowledge of language structure, that is, knowledge that is commonly not conscious or available for spontaneous report, but necessarily implicit in what the (ideal) speaker-listener can say". (Hymes 1972, 271) In relation to that, there is also *performance*, the "imperfect manifestation of the underlying system" (Hymes 1972, 272).

In research on immigrant language production, first generation immigrant speakers can be divided into two major groups, *generation 1a* and *generation 1b*. Immigrants belonging to "generation 1a do not usually exhibit native-like pronunciation in the majority language, nor have they had early childhood experience or all or most schooling in it." Immigrants belonging to generation 1b are those who started learning L2 during early childhood and therefore share some characteristics with native speakers, such as native-like pronunciation and the experience of schooling in that language. The line can be drawn at the age of twelve, since migrants who have started learning L2 after that age are almost always recognized as non-native speakers. (Clyne 2003, 5)

Studies in the United States usually describe *language brokers* as children who translate the English language and interpret cultural practices for their parents (Morales and Hanson 2005, 472), but adults can also act as language brokers. Starčević introduces the term *language breaker*, for which he says could be defined as "an individual who demotivates a bi- or multilingual speaker in their intention to improve the knowledge of one of their certain languages by excessively and repeatedly criticising the quality of their language production". (Starčević 2014, 193). When it comes to female immigrants and foreign language acquisition, Block (2007, 83-84) gives four reasons why this is often a challenge. Their husbands do not "like the fact that their daughters or wives were attending classes with other men", they do not feel it was safe for women to go out at night or they think it was more important for women to

earn money or take care of children than to learn the language and that “formal education was simply a foreign activity to these women.” (Ibid)

According to Grosjean's wholistic view of bilingualism,

[a] bilingual is a fully competent speaker-hearer; he or she has developed competencies (in the two languages and possibly in a third system that is a combination of the first two) to the extent required by his or her needs and those of the environment. [...] Because the needs and uses of the two languages are usually quite different, the bilingual is rarely equally or completely fluent in the two languages. Levels of fluency in a language will depend on the need for that language and will be extremely domain specific, hence the “fossilized” competencies of many bilinguals in each of their two languages. (Grosjean 2008, 14)

Therefore, a speaker does not have to, or is not able to, acquire two or more languages at the same level.

Immigrants very often mix their two or more languages, which is a phenomenon referred to as *code-switching*. (Clyne 2003, 70-72) There are multiple reasons for code-switching and some of them are: signaling emotions or moods, showing respect or indicating other power relations, as well as restricted vocabulary (Shankar 2014, 66-79), for example when the person cannot recall the equivalent or does not know it and sometimes the problem can even be the lack of an equivalent in the target language (Grosjean 2008, 74). Hlavac, a researcher who studied Croatian immigrants in Australia, distinguishes between three types of code-switching: *extra-clausal*, *inter-clausal* and *intra-clausal* (2003, 43). Extra-clausal code-switching occurs between two clauses, most often with discourse markers, interjections and similar elements (Hlavac 2003, 43, 123). According to Hlavac (2006), many researchers “examine discourse markers as a category which can be adopted *en masse* and which displace most or all forms which were previously employed” (1871). Therefore, they can be easily transferred from one language to another.

According to “Haspelmath , “a calque (or loan translation) is a complex lexical unit (either a single word or a fixed phrasal expression) that was created by an item-by-item translation of the (complex) source unit.’ (Haspelmath 2009, 39).

Clyne defines *semantic transference* as “the transference of meanings from words in one language to words in another with some morphemic or semantic correspondence”, for example “Italian *fattoria* (small farm) used in the sense of Eng. *factory* (It. *fabbrica*)” (Clyne 2003, 77). Hlavac also notices compromise forms that do not correspond to the English or

Croatian forms, such as *Libanez*, rather than *Lebanese* in English and *Libanonac* in Croatian (Hlavac 1999, 66).

4.1. Ideologies

According to Gee, “when we speak or write we always take a particular *perspective* on what the world is like” (Gee, 2002, 2), therefore we could say that we emanate a certain ideology with what we say or write. As stated by Verschueren,

“we define an ideology as any constellation of fundamental or commonsensical, and often normative, beliefs and ideas related to some aspect(s) of social ‘reality’. The commonsense nature of the beliefs and ideas is manifested in the fact that they are rarely questioned (...) the beliefs and ideas in question are often (...) carried along implicitly rather than to be formulated explicitly” (Verschueren 1999, 238).

Pennycook writes that, “what we assume to be common, everyday knowledge is in fact always particular worldview (ideology) of a particular social group” (Pennycook 2001, 81). He continues by saying that there is “no escape from questions of power, no escape from ideology or discourse” and “no escape from language” (Pennycook 2001, 88). Therefore, ideology is present in everyday situations and the lack of one ideology presupposes inclining towards the opposite one. According to Silverstein, language ideologies are “sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use” (Silverstein, 1979, 193).

Analysing someone’s view on language in order to uncover the ideologies behind it requires the use of Critical Discourse Analysis, which focuses “on the intersection of language/discourse/speech and social structure” (Blommaert 2005, 25). According to Wodak, it

studies real, and often extended, instances of social interaction which take (partially) linguistic form. The critical approach is distinctive in its view of (a) the relationship between language and society, and (b) the relationship between analysis and the practices analysed. (Wodak 1997, 173)

Therefore, it is crucial in looking into the relationship between extralinguistic and linguistic reality, which cannot go one without the other.

The ideology of the standard language is “a bias toward an abstract, idealized homogen[e]ous spoken language which is imposed and maintained by dominant institutions and which names as its model the written language, but which is drawn primarily from the spoken language of the upper middle class” (Lippi-Green 2012, 64). According to the ideas of the speakers who

promote it, there is only one correct language form, the one used in the standard language, which is equated with the whole language (Starčević 2016, 70-71). According to the ideology of the standard language, the standard variety is therefore “inherently better, more logical, more precise and more elegant than the other varieties” (Starčević 2016, 70-71). According to Finegan, the standard variety is considered to be the variety to be used in public discourse (Finegan 2012, 13).

It is similar to the *ideology of the native speaker*. According to Firth and Wagner, “the native speaker continues to predominate as the baseline or target that learners should seek to emulate” (cited from Doerr 2009, 1). Therefore, the language production of the native speaker is the ideal learners should strive to when learning a language.

The *pluralist ideology* “promotes multilingualism, L1 language maintenance, and language rights”. It supports using multiple languages in education and social and economic rewarding “multilingual language use”. (Tollefson and Yamagami 2012, 3015) According to Thomas (1991, 2) *the ideology of language purism* is

“the manifestation of a desire on the part of a speech community (or some section of it) to preserve a language from, or rid it of, putative foreign elements or other elements held to be undesirable (including those originating in dialects, sociolects and styles of the same language). It may be directed at all linguistic levels but primarily the lexicon. Above all, purism is an aspect of the codification, cultivation and planning of standard languages. (cited in Walsh 2016, 8)

Or to put it briefly, the “cleansing the language of vulgar or dialectal properties” (Turk 1996, 73).

The fiction of homogeneity is “the belief or assumption that all members of the same language-community speak exactly the same language” (Lyons 1981, 24). As the name itself suggests, it is only a fiction, because every language or dialect has variations within itself, at all language levels.

Mikhail Bakhtin introduced the term *heteroglossia* (1981), which could be interpreted as different varieties of the same language. According to Blackledge and Creese, *the heteroglossic ideology* implies coexistence of distinct varieties within a single “language” When explaining the heteroglossic ideology, Blackledge and Creese argue that heteroglossia is a reflection of reality, since no language is homogeneous, but has different dialects, accents

and varieties. (Blackledge and Creese 2010, 35). For example, the English language is not just the RP variety or any single variety, but all different varieties or *Englishes* spoken around the world, standard and non-standard.

According to Makoni and Pennycook, in popular perception “language is linked to a geographical space” (Makoni and Pennycook 2006, 3). This is *the ideology of territorialisation*, according to which a certain language is associated with a certain geographical location, especially a certain country. The ideology that is connected to the previous one is the *ideology of assimilation*. According to Tollefson and Yamagami “the term covers a broad range of notions of assimilation, including structural (economic) assimilation, cultural assimilation, and political assimilation”. Therefore, the newcomers are to assimilate into the majority community by adopting their culture and the language or the dialect they speak (Tollefson and Yamagami 2013, 3015).

The ideology of development “requires continual use of ex-colonial languages in the educational system and other higher institutions of the state” in the ex-colonies. The author claims that “the ideology of development appears to be based on a wanting dichotomy: socioeconomic development is possible only through the medium of European languages versus indigenous African languages are good only for preserving African cultures and traditions.” (Kamwangamalu 2013, 121). This theory can be applied to the immigrant experience, because, some of them are divided between the two languages and most of them are aware that English is necessary to succeed in the new environment, but are adamant to preserve the language of their immigrant community, in this case the Croatian language.

However, the two languages can mix, and people have different views on that. Blackledge and Creese (2010, 108-109) distinguish between the ideology of “separate bilingualism” that does not allow the mixing of the two languages and the ideology of “flexible bilingualism,” when the speaker allows for combining different languages. Therefore, some people are against mixing the two languages, while others are not.

RESULTS

5. The Respondent

The respondent was born in 1936 in Hrvatsko zagorje, Croatia, but as a child she moved and finally settled in Rovišće next to Bjelovar during the Second World War. She finished five grades of elementary school in her hometown and later studied to be a seamstress. At the time the interview was carried out the respondent was 81 years old. She lived in Bjelovar until 1969, when, at the age of 33, she permanently moved to Australia together with her husband and their son due to economic reasons. At the time the interview was carried out she had been living in Australia for 48 years. The interview was carried out in Rovišće, Croatia, in the respondent's nephew's house while the respondent was there on vacation.

The respondent and her family were economic migrants. She was not able to get a job, while her husband worked in a factory, holding a position at a physically very demanding post. When asked why they decided to move to Australia and not somewhere else, she replied that moving to Australia was the easiest, since the country required a lot of workforce for its developing economy and wanted new workers to arrive as soon as possible. It offered free transport, which also played an important role.

I: A kak to da ste odabrali Australiju?

R: E to je jedini poziv bio da možemo jako brzo otić.

I: Znači to je bila jedina opcija.

R: Da, jedina opcija će nismo morali puta platiti, ni ništa. Jer je Australija u to vrijeme bila zemlja u velikom razvoju i trebala je radnike i tko je htjeo doći, mogao je doći na državni račun ali smo bili dužni ostati dvije godine. Ako smo se prije vratili morali bi platiti, vratiti taj put. Ako ne, poslije dvije godine možemo raditi šta hoćemo, ić kud hoćemo. Dvije godine je bila opcija ostati u Australiji.

The respondent remembered that they were not greeted warmly by the population already living there. According to the respondent, white Australian people had a derogatory term for newcomers, namely *wog* (=a foreigner, esp one who is not White, Free dictionary).

Wog. Ne lijepa riječ. Pridošlice ili ne želimo vas, tako bi bolje bilo. Doše. Tako. Ružna riječ, ružna riječ. A naročito bili smo diskriminirani od Srba. Sve što god se je tamo napravilo bili su krivi u to doba Hrvati. Jer je to bila Jugoslavija. I bombe su podmijetali da su to bili Hrvati, svakakva čudesa su radili i sve su krivili nas dok se konačno nije uhvatilo, onda su morali prestat.

According to the respondent, one of the reasons for the Australians' negative opinions of Croatians was the Serbs who spread lies about them.

R: Mislim, mi nismo lično imali problema, ali općenito klevetali su Hrvate. Ispod onog mosta popularnog što imamo metnuli su bombu i javili su da su Hrvati podmetnuli bombu. To je puknulo ko... Bomba nije eksplodirala jer je nisu ni tempirali, al samo se je našla tamo. Onda u jednom će suprodavali gramofonske ploče u to doba su bili tu je bomba eksplodirala. Opet oni su je podmetnuli pa smo mi bili krivi dok se nije uhvatilo ko je metnuo i takve gluposti. I će god bi šta bilo napravljeno, prvo bi bilo to su Hrvati napravili. Iako nismo ništa radili. Nastajali su svi da budemo povučeni, da ništa ne radimo, ali klevetali su nas strahovito puno.

Therefore, the respondent and other Croatians in Australia at that time did not feel perfectly safe since an established group of people shaped the public opinion about them.

I: A jelmisliteda su Australci povjerovali Srbima?

R: Jesu. Jesu. Jel ovi su bili u amabasadi, ovi su bili svud. Svud u kancelarijama ovih je bilo. Jel Srbi su ove svoje u Hrvatskoj školovali i tamo slali. I onda, a ne naše i oni su svud. Oni sugovorili engleski, oni su došli na položaje i onda su nas klevetat mogli kako su htjeli. Ali došlo je tome kraj.

I: A kak to da je došokraj?

R: Jer su ih pohvatali, znaš. Nije istina da su Hrvati metnuli, uhvatili su ko je metnuo, ko je napravio ovo uhvatili, ko je napravio to i onda su vidjeli da moraju prestati s tim. Tako je došo kraj.

Therefore, the respondent confirms Val Colic-Peisker's claim that immigrants usually go through the stage of negative stereotyping (Colic-Peisker 2008, 160). Afterwards the respondent even mentioned that Croatians were not the only people the Australians disliked.

I: Dobro, a zašto vas Australci nisu voljeli?

R: A ne samo nas. Svi koji su došli. Mi smo za njih bili *wog*. Oni su to... Nisu nas voljeli što dolazimo u njihovu zemlju ko što danas niste volili što ovi dolazili preko vas, što su prelazili. Ista stvar.

The derogatory term used for Croatians (and other immigrants) is still used today, and it is used for the modern immigrants. As mentioned above, there is evidence about the Croatian revolutionaries in literature and in the archives. As for the respondent's allegations about the Serbs slandering Croats in Australia and planting bombs in order to accuse Croats of terrorism, there is no firm evidence of it in newspapers or in literature, other than suspicion.

According to the respondent, the prejudice against the Croatians diminished during the Croatian War of Independence in the 1990's. She says that

poslije se je čulo kako su napali na Hrvatsku kako je ovo ono, onda se je smirilo.

The respondent's claim roughly corresponds with Val Colic-Peisker's interviewees' time frame of the diminishing of the negative view of Croatian immigrants in Australian society. (Colic-Peisker 2006, 159)

The respondent showed a negative opinion of contemporary immigrants, who are predominantly Muslim. She states that they affect the Australian society in a negative manner because they do not want to adapt to the culture they immigrated into and she feels that they want to enforce their customs to the Australian society.

I: A šta mislite kak muslimani utječu na australsko društvo?

R: Jako veliki pritisak australsko društvo ima od njih. Oni hoće da bude ono što oni imaju. Nedaj Bože da im zabrane vjeru ili da dođe ono, dvadeset sedam puta na godinu oni se idu umivati i oni prolaze preko puta. Recimo živi ovdje i mora ići u sinagog... u džamiju tamo. Oni idu, ti moraš stat s autom dok oni ne prođu. Nema njih zaustavit. Semafor za njih ništa ne vrijedi. Njima kad to dođe kao slijepi idu.

I: A, jel mislite da se oni trude da se uklope u australsko društvo?

R: No. No.

The respondent stressed that, unlike them, she and her family worked really hard to adapt to the new society. They took up a job as soon as they were able to and started dressing and acting similarly to others in Australia. They showed they were keen to become a part of the society, since they did not show any kind of behaviour that would go against the established culture.

R: Mi kad smo došli tamo počeli smo se odma vladati kao Australci. Mi nismo tjerali ono naše. I oblačit se ko oni i kolko smo najviše mogli da govoriš, ne da ono, ja sam u australskom društvu, sad ću ja hrvatski govorit. Ako nisam znala reć, ja sam rađe šutjela, ono što sam znala reć to sam rekla pa se to nije primjetilo da ja... Dok drugi bi recimo sastali se i govore hrvatski i onda su se Australci okretali od tebe. Meni se to nije nikada dogodilo. Ili sam govorila engleski ili sam rađe u društvu šutjela pa sam potvrđivala da se to nije izrazilo da ja niti ne znam a niti neću tvoj jezik da govorim. Prihvatila sam engleski moram naučiti, nema druge.

I: Znači prihvatili ste to i htjeli ste se uklopiti?

R: Uklopiti u društvo onakvo kakvo je. U svemu, u odjeći u svemu. Baš u svemu. Da. Jer to je jedini izbor bio da si dobro.

The respondent and her family wanted to return to Croatia, so they sold the house in Australia and went back to Croatia, what supports Val Colic-Peisker's claims (Colic-Peisker 2010, 56).

Moj suprug nije više htjeo tamo da bude. Bilo je to šest godina kako smo tamo. Prodamo tu kuću i vraćamo se za Hrvatsku jer on neće više tamo da bude, za njega ufatila velika nostalgija.

But the economic situation in Croatian was not any better, and they did not have anywhere to go, so they ended up returning to Australia.

I došli smo tu i išli smo, pošto smo kuću prodali nismo imali kud doć, onda smo išli gledati okolo. On je htio da kupimo nešto u Zagrebu za taj novac jel smo kratko bili, nismo mogli kupiti ništa. Nakon šest nedelja smo se već vratili u Australiju.

6. Transfers and Sociolinguistic Results

The respondent started acquiring English only when she arrived in Australia. Before that she did not speak a word of English. The respondent uses an almost perfectly monolingual type of Croatian, and during our several-hour-long interview (which was carried out on two occasions), she used only a few English words and expressions. Besides using English words, the respondent used a few English expressions (transfers) in Croatian. Her English is not as good as her Croatian, probably because she started acquiring it after the age of thirty and with almost no formal instruction. This can be accounted for with the critical period hypothesis, a theory according to which our ability to reach high proficiency levels diminishes with the age at which we were first exposed to that language (Hakuta, Bialystok and Wiley 2003, 1). Besides, she received almost no formal instruction in English, which would make her oral and written production more native-like. When asked about the language she speaks, she replied,

Hrvatski i nešta engleskoga. Ne govorim potpuno dobro engleski, je li. Mislim, sporazumijevam se sve. Teško mi je pisati. Moram razmišljati šta ću napisati. A u vezi razgovora nema problema. Da.

She is obviously aware that her English is not native-like, but is happy that she can to communicate in it. The bilingualism of her English production is evident in the sentences she pronounced in English when she wanted to illustrate how she communicates with her Australian friends and neighbours. For example, she said, "Are you still in life?" instead "Are you still alive", "I am not speak English" instead of "I do not speak English", etc. This proves Clyne's theory (2003, 5) that generation A1 immigrant cannot usually manage to acquire a second language at a native-like level.

Here is the table that was filled out according to what she said about her language competence.

SKILL/LANGUAGE	Croatian	English
speaking	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
listening	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
reading	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
writing	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5

We would therefore consider the respondent to be a bilingual according to Grosjean's wholistic view (2008, 14).

The respondent had several language brokers in Australia. The first one was her foreman in a factory she worked in. He was a Hungarian-born immigrant who had noticed she did not speak or understand English, so he decided to help her. It was his good will to teach her English and he did not benefit from it in any way. When she asked him why he was doing it, he said that she was a very hard worker and that he had enough time to teach her because she worked very fast. He also said that it was very difficult for him to learn English when he first came to Australia and that he wanted to make it easier for her. Every day he would give her a list of words to learn by the next day.

Ovako, ja kad sam sjedila, radial na svom radnom mjestu imala sam jednoga iz Mađarske poslovođu, a iza mene je na drugom stolu, radial jedna druga naša iz Srbije I ona bi meni prevela što je on pito. A on je onda njoj reko: Stop, Silvija! Ona mora da uči. I on bi sjeo kraj mene, uzeo olovku, this is the pencil. This is the ashtray. Ja moram napisati onako kako se piše. I svaku stvar, to je šarafciger, to je ovo, to je ono. Po pet riječi dnevno je on meni dao i ja sam drugi dan to morala znat. Jedan dan sam ja njega pitala, zašto si tako prijazan prema meni. Nikoga drugoga nije učio, mene učiš. A on je meni odgovorio: ti radiš za tri, bez prigovora, imam vremena da sjedim kraj tebe i da ti to pomognem. Ja kad sam došo ovdje, meni je bilo jako, jako teško. Ja te razumijem.

It went on for one year, until she changed jobs. The respondent also learned English in a course organized and funded by the state. This was several years after she came to Australia.

Kad sam već dobro, dobro razumjela engleski onda sam htjela da idem. Htjela sam ići u školu da usavršim da znam napisati. Onda ako bi i rekla pa ne bi sto posto dobro rekla oni su mene razumjeli, ali ako napišeš krivo, ispuniš neki formular krivo, to ne valja, to nije dobro. Da.

It is interesting how she notices the difference between the spoken and written production. The spoken language does not have to be perfect, mistakes and variations are tolerated, while in the written languages they are not. She stated that the course helped her immensely, mostly with pronunciation, which is maybe the easiest thing to improve.

I: A taj tečaj, jel to bilo poslije posla ili kak?

R: Poslije posla, uvečer. Uveče je to bilo.

I: Kolko je to trajalo?

R: Tri sata.

I: Tri sata? Kolko puta tjedno?

R: Dvapat.

...

I: I jel vam to pomagalo?

R: Jako puno, jako puno. Zaizgovor mi je to jako puno pomagalo.

But her husband, who himself did not take any course nor did he have anyone to teach him the language, put the family and their economic situation first and did not want her to take the course. He forbade her from going to English classes because “nije volio što je bilo po noći”, and therefore his role was not much different from that of a *language breaker* (Starčević 2014, 193). This situation is common among the immigrant spouses and it has been documented before. For example, Block (2007, 84) names four reasons women might fail to acquire the new language, and two of them can be traced in this interview. Namely, the men’s fear for their wives when they walk home at night after the language course and the priority of taking care of the children and earning money.

The only literature to help her with the language is a dictionary she bought a long time ago. She stated that she has a dictionary,

hrvatsko-srpsko-engleski jer sam kupila još za vrijeme Jugoslavije. Tako da imam. A imam i drugi koji je englesko-srpsko-hrvatski. Dva.

...

Rječnik. Rječnik sam imala, pa sam listala. I danas ako koju riječ ne znam napisati, otvorim rječnik i idem da pogledam kako se piše ako oću baš pravilno napisati. Većinom sin ispunja i snaha papire koje trebam. Sad se i ne brinem više. Sad sam osamdeset jednu, sad, sad mi je svejedno jel znam il ne znam.

Her second language broker was her son. He was nine years old when they moved to Australia. According to the respondent, he did not speak any English then, but he adapted and acquired the language very quickly. While they were in Croatia he attended the third grade of elementary school, but when they arrived to Australia he was enrolled in the second grade, after which he was transferred into the third grade because he had advanced cognitive skills for his age. A big help for him was a classmate of his who was of Croatian origin, who helped him by translating what other children and teachers had said. He therefore functioned as his language broker, while the son functioned as the respondent's language broker. According to Morales and Hanson, who reviewed the language brokering literature, a majority of immigrant children perform as language brokers (Morales and Hanson 2005, 474).

Regarding her linguistic encounters with Australians whose mother tongue was English, she never had any negative experiences.

I: A jeste se vi osobno nekad osjećali loše zato jer niste dobro govorili engleski?

R: Ne.

I: Niste?

R: Ja nisam taj osjećaj nikada imala jer sam znala da sam novodošla i da ne znam i samo sam znala uvijek reći: oprostite ako ja ne bi dobro rekla. Da. Tako sam rekla, ja sam se iz toga izvlačila, ja se nisam... Znali su mi još koliko puta prijatelji reć, pa ti samo ideš. A ja sam znala reć; I'm sorry. I am not speak English. Can you help me? Onako iz veselja ja to pitala, dobila odgovor i... Nije bilo nikada problema. Drugi su se malo ustručavali, ali ja ne. Znam da ne znam, moraš probit led.

...

I: Dobro, a jeste li ikad doživjeli neku neugodnost u smislu da vas neko ismijava jer ne znate dobro engleski? Možda ne vas osobno, ali nekog od vaših ili tako nekog?

R: Ne.

I: Niko vam se smijao ili tako nešto?

R: No.

She did mention that they did let her know that she had said something ungrammatical, but only with a polite smile or a facial expression, never anything rude or explicit.

The respondent encountered women who said they had forgotten how to read or speak their mother tongue (Croatian), although they were more than thirty years old when they emigrated. She clearly stated that it is not possible to forget your mother tongue even after living for several decades in a country that uses another language, especially since you first have to learn the other language and you do not use that language all the time.

Jednoć mi je jedna žena, tu baš u Bjelovaru rekla, pitala me kolko sam, u trgovini, pitala me kolko sam dugo u Australiji. Reko četrdesdevet godina. I vi niste zaboravili hrvatski. Ha?! Kako možeš zaboraviti jezik u kojem si do trideset godina bio? Pa veli ona odu žene u Njemačku na par godina, tri, četiri godine i zaborave govorit hrvatski. Ne, to ne može bit. To se ne može zaboravit. Da govori samo njemački non-stop, što ne govori jer se mora učit njemački kad ode, al ovo se ne može zaboravit. To nek mi nitko ne kaže da je zaboravio. meni je jedna u Australiji rekla, dala sam joj jednu knjigu za čitat, ja sam zaboravila čitat hrvatski. A bila je trideset i pet godina kad je došla u Australiju. Dobro. Eto to. Samo ti dajem primjer čega sve ima.

6.1. Sociolinguistic Results

The Croatian community in Australia is very open-minded regarding language. As stated by the respondent, it is not unusual to come across Croatian Australians who do not speak the Croatian language. According to her, this is sometimes due to the shame evoked by the poor public opinion of the Croatian community. The respondent is liberal towards languages and does not consider one language to be better than the next or one dialect more valuable than some other. Therefore she promotes the **pluralist ideology**.

I: Jel vam čudno, dakle, kad znate da je neko iz hrvatske obitelji u Australiji, a ne govori hrvatski?

R: Ne, nije nam uopće čudno. Toga jako puno ima. Jako jako puno. Jel ispočetka kad smo mi došli tamo poneke koji su govorili engleski je bio sram reć da su Hrvati. Pošto previše je bilo ljage na nas bačeno. Nisu se čak htjeli niti predstaviti da su Hrvati, lagali su da su iz koje druge zemlje. Bilo je i toga. Samo da nekažu da su Hrvati. Bilo je toga dosta.

...

I: Mislite da ne morate govorit hrvatski da biste bili Hrvati?

R: Ne. Isto ne moraš govorit engleski da budeš Australac. Ja sam postala Australka puno prije nego sam znala jako dobro engleski. Da. Nakon dvije godine mi smo ostali Australci. Nije nas niko pito kolko govoriš engleski.

Likewise, despite her liberal explicit answers regarding language attitudes, her comments reveal that she supports the **ideology of assimilation**. She was aware that Australia was going

to be her home and she wanted to fit into that society and tried not to stand out. Here is what she stated during the interview:

R: Ili sam govorila engleski ili sam rađe u društvu šutjela pa sam potvrđivala da se to nije izrazilo da ja niti ne znam a niti neću tvoj jezik da govorim. Prihvatila sam engleski moram naučiti, nema druge.

I: Znači prihvatili ste to i htjeli ste se uklopiti?

R: Uklopiti u društvo onakvo kakvo je. U svemu, u odjeći u svemu. Baš u svemu. Da. Jer to je jedini izbor bio da si dobro.

She does not think that there is homogeneity among the speakers of Croatian. She is aware that speakers of different dialects can understand each other and that all of the dialects are equally valuable to the community, which reflects the **heteroglossic ideology**. Therefore, there is no **fiction of homogeneity**.

I: Dobro, a jel u Australiji, među australskim Hrvatima postoji nekakav preferirani naglasak? Jel se više cijeni kad neko govori čakavski hrvatski ili kajkavski ili? Jel te to radi razlika među tim...

R: Radi se. Onaj je Bosanac, onaj je Slavonac, onaj je... Među Hrvatima. Je, je, isto ko i ovdje.

I: Prema govoru?

R: Da, odma se po govoru poznaje iz kojeg je mjesta. Odma se pozna. A, oni su iz Bosne, a oni su iz Podravine, a oni su odmande. Ali imamo staračko društvo koje se okuplja, ima nas šest stotina. Tako tu, al tu smo svi mješani i nema problema odmakle i šta je odakle. Al mislim, kaže se oni su iz Bosne i ovi odavde i tako. Al nema da se djelimo, tamo smo svi isti.

I: Nema da je neko...

R: Diskriminiran?

I: Da.

R: Ne, ne.

I: Nema toga?

R: Ne.

Still, she would prefer if everyone spoke the standard variety, therefore she promotes the **ideology of the standard language**.

I: A jel mislite da je bolje kad neko govori standardnim jezikom ili dijalektom?

R: Pa najbolje je da govorimo standardnim jezikom, to bi bilo najbolje, ali to nije moguće. Još danas to nije moguće.

I: Zašto?

R: Pa zato jel dijalekti su još jako rasprostranjeni po Hrvatskoj i onda ne možeš ti tražiti od djeteta koji u kući roditelji, djedovi i bake govore ovako, a sad u školi učiš onako i njemu izleti ono što je doma naučio od djeda i babe i gotovo. To tako ide.

This shows that a single person can have contradictory opinions about language use. At one point she states that dialects are very important, but she prioritizes the use and instruction of the standard language in schools.

Pa bilo bi jako dobro kad bi govorili standardni jezik, ali dijalekti su vrlo važni. Ja mislim da su vrlo važni, da je to bogatstvo jedne zemlje, taj dijalekt. Ali djeca u školi bi morala učiti ipak standardni jezik. Da. Ako je to ikako moguće. Da.

She is aware that her production in English is not native-like. She states that she speaks

Hrvatski i nešta engleskoga. Ne govorim potpuno dobro engleski, je li. Mislim, sporazumijevam se sve.

By saying that she does not speak English well, she promotes **the ideology of the native speaker**.

Australian Croatians try to preserve their unique culture and language, so they have Croatian schools in Australia. The schools are organized by the Croatian church communities in Australia and are usually situated somewhere near them. Classes are usually taught on weekends. The children are taught the Croatian language and culture, some history and geography. The parents pay for the classes, but, according to the respondent, not much. The teachers are usually Croatian-born, but currently there is a growing number of Australian-born teachers. The respondent thinks it is very good that they work there because the children are taught the Croatian language.

I: Dobro, a jel mislite da je to nešto dobro?

R: Da, jako dobro i jako puno vrijedi za djecu koja dolaze ovdje na odmor pa da znadu da razumiju što im se govori šta ih pita netko. Uključe se odma u društvo, nemaju problema.

As can be seen from the quote, the respondent advocates that young Australian-born Croatians should associate with the Croatian community in Australia. It was evident that the respondent supports a dual stance on **the ideology of development**. As it can be seen in the

quotes, she wants to preserve the Croatian identity of the immigrant community through language, but she promotes the learning and the use of English because it helps the community “develop”.

R: Puno djece čita u crkvi i to njim jako dobro dođe što moraju dobro govorit hrvatski jer inače ne može da čitaju iz Biblije. I onda imaju jako puno organizirane folklorne grupe đe djeca na hrvatski pjevaju tamo i to je jako dobro.

...

I: A u Australiji ako neko naš jako dobro zna engleski, jel mislite da ima prednost, isto tak da će nać boji poso i da će...

R: Lakše ćeš nać. Lakše ćeš nać. Jel ako teško govoriš onda nije ga lako, nije pol... Znaš. Jezik je odgovornost. Moraš ga znati dobro. To moraš znati dobro, naročito gdje god jesi. Ako si obična sekretarica, moraš znat dobro da govoriš, da razumiješ i da napraviš ono što moraš napraviti, svoje, ono da s pacijentima, s mušterijama da razgovaraš kako treba.

Therefore, the respondent is delighted her son married a woman from a Croatian family who was born in Australia. Still, she would be happier if her daughter-in-law had taught her children Croatian from the start. Her grandchildren acquired English as their first language, since their parents only spoke to them in English. It was only later that they acquired Croatian as their second language. This next quote shows that she does not think that one language should be used at all times.

I: A jel mislite da je pogriješila vaša snaha zato jer nije odma učila djecu hrvatski?

R: Mislim. Mislim da je pogriješila u tome, ali djeca su počela sad učiti pa će nadoknadit. Unuka već jako dobro govori. Mali slabije ali on sve razumije. Ali je... Unuka govori. Ona nema problema kad dođe u Hrvatsku na više dana. Ona nema problema da ne bi nešto razumjela. I govori i razumije. Da.

When asked about the language she uses in Australia with different people and in different circumstances, she stated that

Kad smo mi sami u kući, moj sin, suprug i snaha, govorimo hrvatski. Kad dođu unučad, pošto snaha nije htjela da govore hrvatski, da budu, da u školi znaju engleski kad pođu da hrvatski imaju vremena i kasnije naučit, onda mi govorimo hrvatski, a djeca odgovaraju engleski. Razumiju sve, ali odgovaraju engleski. Kad izidem iz kuće van, engleski. Nemaš susjeda Hrvata. U isti momenat sve je engleski. Lijevo, desno, ispred, iza, kud se kreneš je engleski. A u kući kad se mi prijatelji iz Hrvatske sastajemo stari, mi govorimo hrvatski, dok naša djeca govore engleski. Njima je sad to već lakše govoriti nego, iako znadu hrvatski, dobro znadu, kao moj sin, ali govore engleski između sebe. To je njima više kao materinski

jezik. Moja su se unučad tamo rodila, moja snaha tamo rođena, to je njoj, znaš, jezik će se rodila. Govori hrvatski, ali ono joj je lakše, sa mnom govori hrvatski. Nema problema. Da.

Therefore, when they adjust their production according to the situations they find themselves in, especially when they are in public. The older generations speak Croatian, their mother tongue, in the privacy of their homes and the younger generations use English, sometimes even in the same conversation. Each of them uses what they find easier.

I: A kad se recimo nađete s nekim Hrvatima negdje u javnosti, u nekom kafiću ili tako negdje...

R: Engleski.

I: Engleski? Iako ste Hrvati?

R: Nikada se, nikad se ne izražavamo da smo Hrvati. Nego u društvu govorimo engleski, da.

I: Dobro.

R: Ima ih koji govore, ima ih. Ja ne velim da nema. Ima toga. Ono, ideš po šoping u i čuješ da oni govore hrvatski. Dok se to nama nije događalo. Mi smo nastojali u to društvo smo došli, tako moramo se vladati, tako smo to osjećali, tako smo počeli.

...

I onda kad dođem ovdje pazim da ne kažem pojedine riječi: rubbish, biloštašta se služimo svakodnevno s tim riječima da ne govorim, da ne ubacujem engleski.

So, the respondent promotes **the ideology of territorialisation** by adapting her production to the country or the environment she finds herself in. This view is also present in the next quote: she does not approve of code-switching within a sentence, which reflects **the monoglossic ideology**.

I onda kad dođem ovdje pazim da ne kažem pojedine riječi: rubbish, biloštašta se služimo svakodnevno s tim riječima da ne govorim, da ne ubacujem engleski.

...

Ali ako govoriš hrvatski, govori hrvatski, ako engleski, govori engleski, nemoj da kažeš, kako bi rekla, kako, Moje dijete ide u školu, ima teacher. Teacher je engleski, ali moje dijete ima teacher takva i takva. Taj teacher je engleski, to ne spada tu, nego učitelj. I tako da, kako kažu pidginEnglish, pola hrvatski, ili bilo koji drugi jezik, ista stvar je, ne samo naši nego tako, pidgin Lebanese, pidginCroatian, pidginSerbian. Govoriš pola, pola.

The respondent was very careful not to use an English word while speaking Croatian while on vacation in Croatia. One of the reasons was that she did not want other people to think she was showing off. Avoiding using English with speakers of the respondent's first language in their homeland is common, and we can find it in Starčević also. (Starčević 2014, 153)

I: A zašto se tak jako trudite kad ste u Hrvatskoj da ne ubacite neku englesku riječ? Jel se bojite da vas ljudi neće razumjet ili da će imat neke predrasude?

R: Da se ne pravim važna. Da se ne pravim važna kako ja sad znam engleski. Samo zato.

I: A jeste imali tak neka iskustva da su ljudi imali tak neke negativne reakcije ili da su mislili da se pravite važna?

R: Pa ne za mene, ali čujem kako ove druge dođu iz Njemačke pa se prave važne, to sam čula pa nastojim da ne govorim ni jednu riječ engleski. Jedino ako moram kad zovem kući pa s prijateljicama ove koje su Australke moram engleski govorit. Da.

The monoglossic ideology in this case is not primarily promoted by the respondent, but by her environment in the Croatian village where she lives when she visits Croatia and by the local people's prejudice. In their culture code-switching is something which is frowned upon. This can be connected to **the ideology of separate bilingualism**, which promotes keeping the two languages in bilinguals separate and is in contrast with **the ideology of "flexible bilingualism"**, which allows code-switching and borrowing.

Ali ako govoriš hrvatski, govori hrvatski, ako engleski, govori engleski onoliko koliko znaš. nemoj da kažeš, kako bi rekla, kako, Moje dijete ide u školu, ima teacher. Teacher je engleski, ali moje dijete ima teacher takva i takva. Taj teacher je engleski, to ne spada tu, nego učitelj.

6.2. Transfers

As mentioned above, the respondent tries really hard not to use English words when speaking Croatian and vice versa. But, in the interview there were some instances when she did use an English word or expression instead of the Croatian one. These instances can be divided into two categories. The words in English the respondent used while speaking Croatian belong to the first category. She sometimes tried to explain them and try to find the equivalent in Croatian, but in other cases she did not. The words belonging to the second category are the words and expressions in English that were adapted into Croatian. Those are words from the

English language with Croatian morphology. These two categories are therefore **code-switching** and **borrowing**.

a) Code-switching:

1. The noun *kettle* is used instead of the Croatian equivalent 'električni čajnik'. The reason for this instance of code-switching could be that the electric kettle only appeared after the respondent had moved to Australia, which is why she might not be familiar with the Croatian equivalent.

A tu sam radila na montaži električnih lonaca i ovih za kavu kuhat, kako se to, mi velimo *kettle*, a kako se to veli...

2. The respondent mentioned the word *wog* as a derogatory term which Australians use for newcomers. The word is specific to Australia and the concept to societies with many recent immigrants, therefore it is somewhat culture-specific. The concept closest to this would be 'dođoš' or *dotepenec*.

Wog. Ne lijepa riječ. Pridošlice ili ne želimo vas, tako bi bolje bilo. Doše.

3. The *morning tea* is a concept in the Australian culture meaning 'a mid-morning snack with a cup of tea', (Free Dictionary) which does not exist in the Croatian culture, i.e. it is culture specific.

U deset sati imamo *morning tea* ili za čaj deset minuta.

4. The word *area* is used instead of the Croatian equivalent 'područje, 'čtvrť' or susjedstvo'. The reason behind that might be that the two words are not true synonyms because the English concept of area is a bit larger than Croatian 'susjedstvo'. Besides, 'susjedstvo' is a term in formal standard Croatian and is not often used in vernacular.

Naročito ova *area* gdje sam ja, imaju dvije sinagoge.

5. The respondent code switched from Croatian to English when using the word *mosque* instead of the Croatian equivalent 'džamija', because she could not remember the Croatian term.

Ne sinagoge. *Mosque!* Tako oni zovu.

6. She also switched codes in the next sentence, when speaking about code switching, probably because the expression *pidgin X* does not have an equivalent in Croatian, i.e. it is culturally specific.

I tako da, kako kažu *pidgin English*, pola hrvatski, ili bilo koji drugi jezik, ista stvar je, ne samo naši nego tako, *pidgin Lebanese*, *pidgin Croatian*, *pidgin Serbian*.

7. The adjective *wrong* is used instead of the Croatian equivalent ‘pogrešno’ or in this case ‘nije u redu’. The sentence structure is copied from the English language (*There’s something wrong with the brain.*) so the Croatian equivalent would not fit in this sentence.

Al to je nešto *wrong* sa mozgom.

8. Another interesting feature of the respondent’s production is the use of the negation. When the response to my question was negative, she used the English variant of the negation, although the interview was conducted in Croatian.

R: Uvijek sam imala dar da stanem ispred svih, da nešto pitam, ne, nisam se nikad ničega bojala. No, no, no.

...

R: No, no. Zašto bi se za život bojala?

...

I: A nema ništa posebno baš da se sjećate, da se nečeg drugačijeg igrali ili tak?

R: No. No.

This discourse marker transfers from English into Croatian easily, since it is an extra-clausal form which can “be adopted *en masse*” (Hlavac 2003, 1871). This one might be her habitual expression, and therefore it is transferred into Croatian.

b) Borrowings:

1. Instead of the Croatian equivalent, the respondent used the noun *prođekt* in English. The two words in Croatian and in English are synonyms, but the word pronounced was the English word with Croatian pronunciation and morphology, i.e. the suffix -u, in the dative case, therefore this is a compromise form.

On je recimo radio na *prođektu* za razne reklame.

2. The respondent used the word „shocking” in English rather than in Croatian, although a word with the same form and meaning exists (“šokantno”). The reason for this could be that it is an expression she uses while speaking English and she felt it would be appropriate in this context. In this comment on Croatian administration, she used the word she usually uses when speaking English, but she adapted it to Croatian pronunciation.

Piše na mašini tamo pritisnitaj broj, braj dva, broj tri, kažem, a oni ništa ne kažu. *Šoking*.

3. The adjective *practic* was used with Croatian meaning (koji je primjenljiv, koristan, prikladan, podnestan) and pronunciation, but with a compromise form between Croatian and English. The Croatian form is *praktičan*, while in English the word synonymous with *praktičan* would be *practical*.

Došli su sa kamionom vjerojatno, danas ti je to jako *praktik*.

4. The word *fiber* (in the sense of material used for building houses) is used as a starting point for deriving a Croatian adjective, completely adapted to the Croatian language, morphologically and phonologically.

Moj suprug nije htjeo da kupimo *fajbrenu*, drvenu [kuću], kakve su već bile tamo.

5. The word *battery* is used as in English in the sense of ‘a device containing an electric cell or a series of electric cells storing chemical energy that can be converted into electrical energy, usually in the form of direct current’, ‘another name for accumulator’, and it is was borrowed by the respondent. In Croatian only the word ‘akumulator’ is used in this sense and in this case the words *baterija* and *battery* are false friends (The Free Dictionary) and this is a semantic transference.

Dugo smo jako čekale i pogledali su i rekli su mi: otišla ti je *baterija*, ali mi nemamo *bateriju*, mi moramo zvati drugi servis koji ima *baterije* da će ti donjet.

6. Ambulance in English has a different meaning than in Croatian and they are false friends. What the respondent wanted to say is called *hitna pomoć* in Croatian, while *ambulanta* is ‘zdravstvena ustanova za jednostavnije liječenje bolesnika koji ne leže u bolnici’ (Hrvatski jezični portal), or the *doctor's office* in English. In this case the word is a borrowing.

Moj suprug je pao u kupatilu, ja sam zvala *ambulantu*. Onda su došle tri *ambulante* i policija.

7. In the following sentence we can detect transfer from English into Croatian, since the meaning of the English expression “like” was transferred to the Croatian ‘voljeti’. The verb ‘voljeti’ was used in the sense of ‘sviđati se’, but that is not how it is usually used in Croatian, although it might be a regional use of the verb.

Trebala sam nastaviti ali suprug *nije volio* što je to bilo po noći.

8. The respondent used the verb *trenirati* in the sense of ‘practice’. It can be used in this sense in Croatian when we talk about sports, but the collocation with ‘govoriti’ is not very common, rather we say ‘vježbati govoriti’, while in English this collocation (‘train to speak’) is acceptable.

Onda kod kuće se djeca *treniraju* govorit.

9. The influence of English can be seen in the use of the passive voice, instead of the active one, which is often preferred in monolingual Croatian. One of the reasons for this transfer might be the fact that the house was the subject of the conversation, and the Muslims were the new information, which usually comes at the end of the sentence. She copied the English model of putting the new information at the end of the sentence, since there are no cases in English as in Croatian which would signify the agent.

Ako ću ja kuću prodat ona će sigurno *biti kupljena od muslimana*.

10. The respondent used the term *driveway* instead of the Croatian equivalent ‘prilaz’, and therefore, she switched codes. The first part of the word was pronounced in English, while the second part was adapted to the Croatian morphology. The reason for this may be that it is not used as often in Croatian. In Croatian we use ‘dvorište’ more often, but it does not correspond completely with the English ‘driveway’. Starčević (2014) has similar results in his thesis, with code-switching within the same word, i.e. an English word with Croatian morphology.

Imamo jako puno ubojstava u Australiji, naročito ovi muslimani, koji jedni druge ne vole, to puca na tebe u tvom *drivewayju*...

11. In the interview the verb *napraviti* is used in the sense ‘to earn’ as it can be used in English, but not in Croatian. In English the collocation is *to make money*. The meaning of this verb in Croatian changed to become more similar to the meaning of the verb in English and it was calqued.

U jednu metnite stanare, u drugu vi pa onu kad stanari otplate i skupa s vama prodate pa ćete onda više *napraviti novca*, imat ćete više.

12. In Croatian, the preposition *na* + *language* is used to express the means of communication – ‘Pitala je na engleskom.’ In English the preposition used in this situation is *in* – ‘She asked in English’. The respondent used the Croatian equivalent of the preposition, instead of the Croatian one.

Ponekad samo jedno slovo ili onaj na pola riječi što se kaže *u engleskom* ti djeluje drukčije.

7. Conclusion

After the interview was conducted and the respondent's production and opinions were analysed, we can conclude that her case confirms many of the previous studies. Her language attitudes reveal that she thinks acquiring the standard language is very important, but dialects are also very valuable and should not be neglected to give way to the standard language. She is quite aware of the varieties of the Croatian language, which she considers to be a valuable aspect of the Australian Croatian community. She does not consider the standard variety to be better than dialects of the Croatian language. Nevertheless, when speaking about English, she is very keen on fitting in to the Australian society, and therefore she did everything to adapt to their norms and their language. She prefers speaking English in Australia in public, which is one other form of adapting to the new society.

As anticipated, the respondent would like for the Croatian community in Australia to keep its identity, and language is one of the aspects of that identity which can be maintained through Croatian schools and churches in Australia. She would be happy if young Australian Croatians learned the Croatian language well in order to be able to function better in their community. Likewise, she is aware of the significance of knowing the English language for the Australian Croatians, especially for employment, but also so they can improve the status of her immigrant community among Australians whose native language is English.

Still, she is rather relaxed regarding the level of English acquired by her peers, probably because she knows how difficult it was for her to learn English even though she is quite aware she does not speak English well. It is interesting that she does not consider it crucial to speak the language to be considered Croatian or Australian.

After spending more than forty years in an English-speaking environment, the respondent speaks Croatian very well, with no major influence of English on her accent or production. A salient result which has been found in previous research is the one of language broker and language breaker. The respondent's broker and breaker were her son and husband, respectively. It is interesting that the respondent rarely uses English when speaking Croatian and the reason for that is social – she is afraid she would be ridiculed by her friends and neighbours in Croatia. Although she claims she refrains from code-switching, she still could not help using both English and Croatian in the interview. However, the instances in which she did code-switch were rare and she would use only one word or phrase in English. She also borrowed some words from English and adapted them to the Croatian morphology and

pronunciation, which sometimes resulted in using words which are false friends in Croatian and English.

To conclude, it would be quite beneficial for the development of sociolinguistics to research some of the results found in this analysis in other Croatian emigrants. Future research might focus on 1) whether all emigrants suppress the language of the country they emigrated to when returning to the country of their origin or not and why and 2) whether some emigrants really forget their native language and why some (claim) they do while others (claim) they do not.

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